

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SES-02 SAA-01 SSM-03
NEAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /096 W
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O 211640Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5036
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION SINAI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 10738

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, IS, US, EG
SUBJECT: CAMP DAVID PREPARATIONS: PERMANENT PARTIAL
AGREEMENT

1. WE ARE JUST NOW BEGINNING TO GET A FIX ON GOI PREPARATIONS FOR CAMP DAVID. THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF INFORMATION - THE CABINET - WAS SEALED YESTERDAY WHAN IT MET AS THE MINISTERIAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE. NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAS BEEN SUFFICIENT MEDIA SPECULATION AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT FIGURES TO REPORT THE FOLLOWING.

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2. IN "PERMANENT PARTIAL AGREEMENTS," BEGIN HAS LATCHED ONTO AN IDEA WHICH HE NOW CLAIMS AS HIS OWN DESPITE HIS OPPOSITION TO THE SIMILAR CONCEPT BEHIND THE SINAI ACCORDS DURING THE RABIN/KISSINGER ERA. BEGIN HAS CONTINUED TO PROMOTE AND EXPOUND ON THE VIRTUES OF THE PERMENENT PARTIAL AGREEMENT APPROACH SINCE HIS FIRST PUBLIC REFERENCE TO IT LAST WEDNESDAY. HE IS SAID TO HAVE DIRECTED THE

FOUR-MAN GOI STRATEGY TEAM (WHICH INCLUDES ELIAHU BEN-ELISSAR, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE; MAJOR GENERAL AVRAHAM TAMIR, CHIEF OF ARMY'S PLANNING BRANCH; DR. MEIR ROSENNE, LEGAL ADVISOR, FOREIGN MINISTRY; AND MEIR GABAI, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF JUSTICE MINISTRY) TO PREPARE MATERIAL FOR PARTIAL ACCORDS. PRESS SPECULATION HAS FOCUSED ON A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL TO A RAS MUHAMMED/EL ARISH LINE IN RETURN FOR SOME OF WHAT ISRAEL REGARDS AS ELEMENTS OF A PERMANENT PEACE, SUCH AS TRADE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS. BEGIN, IT SHOULD BE STRESSED, CONTINUES TO PRESENT THE PARTIAL AGREEMENT APPROACH AS ONLY A FALLBACK. HE IS CAREFUL TO STATE THAT ISRAEL'S FIRST PREFERENCE IS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT; ONLY IF AND WHEN THAT GOAL IS PROVED TO BE UNREALISTIC SHOULD PARTIAL AGREEMENTS BE TAKEN UP. (NOTE: THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL PRESS REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, APPARENTLY BASED ON THE DINITIZ-SAUNDERS-SECRETARY VANCE DISCUSSIONS, OF U.S. OPPOSITION TO PURSUIT BY ISRAEL AT CAMP DAVID OF THE PARTIAL SETTLEMENTS APPROACH.)

3. INTERESTINGLY, DAYAN HAS NOT PUBLICLY FALLEN IN LINE WITH BEGIN ON THE SUBJECT OF PARTIAL AGREEMENTS. IN A MAJOR POLICY ADDRESS BEFORE THE "BAMA" FORUM OF HIS SUPPORTERS, DAYAN DID NOT EVEN REFER TO THAT APPROACH, BUT RATHER EMPHASIZED THE NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF A WEST BANK/ GAZA ACCORD. DAYAN CONTINUES TO FOCUS ON THE RESOLUTION OF

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OUTSTANDING WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES AND REGARDS THE SINAI - WHERE THE PERMANENT PARTIAL ACCORDS WOULD MOST OBVIOUSLY APPLY - TO BE PERIPHERAL.

4. OTHER CABINET DIFFERENCES REGARDING ISRAEL'S CAMP DAVID APPROACH SHOULD BE NOTED. SHARON, HURWITZ AND LANDAU, THE HARD LINERS, ARE SAID TO BE PUSHING FOR AN ISRAELI POSITION BASED ON THE BEGIN PEACE PLAN - NO MORE, NO LESS. THE ULTRA RIGHT GEULA COHEN WING OF HERUT HAS ALREADY ATTACKED BEGIN'S NEW LINE AS REPRESENTING FURTHER RETREAT, PREPARING THE WAY FOR A PARTIAL SINAI ACCORD. WEIZMAN (AND REPORTEDLY SOME LIBERAL PARTY MINISTERS) CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST ARDENT SUPPORTER OF FLEXIBILITY IN ACHIEVING COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. WEIZMAN IS THOUGHT TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH FLEXIBILITY ON THE ISRAELI SIDE, ALONG WITH AN EGYPTIAN POSITION SIMILAR TO THAT ADOPTED BY SADAT IN THEIR MEETING ON MARCH 30, MIGHT FORM THE BASIS OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT, THE ONLY REALISTIC HOPE FOR A POSITIVE CAMP DAVID OUTCOME.

5. IN SUM, WHAT WE SEEM TO HAVE IS A STAKING OUT OF INITIAL POSITIONS BY THE VARIOUS PLAYERS IN WHAT IS VIEWED AS THE FIRST ROUND OF INTERNAL GOI NEGOTIATING. THERE ARE NO REAL

SURPRISES IN THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS. BEGIN PROBABLY WELCOMES
HAVING THE DIFFERENT APPROACHES CIRCULATE VIA THE RUMOR
MILL BECAUSE IT KEEPS THE OUTCOME OF THE INTERNAL DEBATE IN
DOUBT, THEREBY DEFLECTING POSSIBLE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL
CRITICISM OF ANY AUTHORITATIVE GOI POSITION. TODAY'S
(AUG. 21) MA'ARIV, IN FACT REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI TEAM
WILL BE EQUIPPED WITH A SET OF ISRAELI PROPOSALS SUITED
TO WHATEVER NEGOTIATING TRACK IS TAKEN - WEHTHER A DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES, AN OVERALL PEACE TREATY, OR A
PERMENENT PARTIAL AGREEMENT.
LEWIS

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